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Of the three domesticated animals of the Polynesians, only fowls were brought to Easter Island or else they alone survived to the time of European discovery. In 1722, there were neither pigs nor dogs, though Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 131) tells us that the natives who boarded Roggeveen's ship "seemed to be acquainted with pigs." His statement may be inaccurate, but it is not unlikely that the natives did remember pigs. Pigs are mentioned in Mangarevan traditions and, according to history, the last sow was killed and eaten there in the seventeenth century. When pigs were reintroduced to Easter Island, they were called *oru*, probably an onomatopoeic name. Dogs are termed *paihenga*, and the usual Polynesian name for dog (*kuri*) applies to cats.

The small, long-legged, indigenous fowls seem to have been less numerous before European contact than afterwards. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) and La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 76) stress their scarcity. The great value given to this bird in the social and economic life of the islanders upholds this impression in spite of G. Forster's statement (83, p. 157) to the contrary. Fowls must have multiplied in the second half of the last century for in 1882 they are said to have been extremely numerous over the entire island in a wild or semi-wild state. Geiseler (87, p. 37) estimates that there were 10,000 chickens at the time of his visit.

Today there are no wild fowls, but chickens are abundant in Hanga-roa and the natives are prodigal of eggs. When the ancient culture was functioning, chickens were the usual gifts to people who must be honored; they were raised for feasts and appear as a favorite motif in art. The feathers were used in making circlets, eyeshades, and hats. The economic value that chickens once had for the natives is manifest in the care they took of them. Near the sites of most ancient villages or settlements, hen houses are found. Often they are the only testimony of the former existence of a village. One officer under Gonzalez says that "the islanders breed fowls in little ruins scraped out in the ground and thatched over" (90, p. 122).

The only indigenous mammal was the Polynesian rat which has since been exterminated by rats from the ships. In former days the natives ate rats; Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) guesses that they did, and his supposition is borne out by references to the practice in legends. Present natives remember seeing old men eat rats. However, the following tale shows that certain persons were prejudiced against rats and did not consider them a delicacy:

> The girl Kava-komari was brought up and grew. She lived in seclusion in her house, where she daily painted her face red and annointed herself with sugar-cane juice. One year she went to a *koro* (feast). All the men admired her. She lived in the *koro* house. Her father took her a bundle of rats and sweet potatoes to accompany the rats (*inaki*). She opened the bundle and saw the rats. The other girls laughed at her. She asked, "Why do you laugh about the rats?" The other girls answered, "We laugh because you are about to eat the rats." The girl said, "Rats are not bad food. Rats are good. We are like calabashes with the mouth below. There below is something ugly with us. Rats are clean. When you defecate it always falls down."

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tion that members of a family are always ready to give each other. Relatives are inclined to exchange presents chiefly among themselves, but there is a constant giving and receiving among all of the people of the village of Hangaroa.

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

Children are always welcomed into a family and the rapid increase of the Easter Island population in the last fifty years indicates the fertility of most of the married couples. There are now 216 children under 13 years of age. I never heard of a woman who was annoyed at the prospect of having a child or of a woman who had an abortion. The desire for children is illustrated by the following popular Easter Island tale, which was given to me as an actual recent incident:

> A woman named Rere-ao slept with her husband but saw that she would never have a child. One day she noticed a woman who was pregnant. She pretended to be pregnant too. She also pretended to suffer when the pregnant woman felt the first pains of labor. The other woman gave birth to a child. Rere-ao said to the midwives, "You stay here. I must go out to defecate." She went to the house of the woman to whom the child had been born. She said, "Give me this child. I want to suckle it." The woman passed the child to her and she stole it. She put it in front between her tapa skirt and her waist. Then she returned to her house and said to the women sitting there, "Hurry and take my child." They came to deliver the child and it was born from the front part of her bosom. The real parents looked for their child who had been stolen by Rere-ao. They came to the house of Rere-ao and said, "The child is ours. Why did you steal him?" Then they said to the people, "She only pretended to have a child and for that reason she has taken our child. She is Rere-ao, stealer of the child." The parents took their child back, and thereafter the people made fun of Rere-ao and called her Rere-ao-toki-poki (Rere-ao-the-stealer-of-the-child).

The present islanders do not care whether they have sons or daughters. Formerly sons were preferred, as in many parts of Polynesia. "The son has to carry on the line, succeed to the title and inherit the estate" (31, p. 37). Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 131) writes:

> . . . If the newborn child was a boy, there was great rejoicing, but if it was a daughter there was less enthusiasm. All of the affection of the family was bestowed upon the first born son, whereas the last one was despised; he bore a nickname that nobody pronounced without laughing.

Pregnancy

At the third or fifth month of pregnancy, but never in the fourth or later than the fifth month, the husband's father offered an earth oven to the parents of the expectant mother. This oven was called *umu takapu moa kokoma* (*takapu*, ceremonial earth oven; *moa kokoma*, intestines of the fowls) and was "proportioned to the number of sweet potatoes or fowls they had at their disposal" (230, vol. 6, p. 130). The food cooked in it was presented with the words, "Umu takapu moa ka kai" (Eat the earth oven of fowl's intestines), and eaten on the spot. The name of this feast was *rae* (the first fruits, the

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843 firstlings), and was perpetuated long after the natives were converted to
431 Christianity. After the food was removed, the pit of the oven was carefully filled in so that no rats could get into it, for if any food scraps were taken by a rat, the child would die. The father of the pregnant woman could make an earth oven and present it to the husband's relatives, but this gift had no ceremonial value.

DELIVERY

844 Before delivery a black stone was heated in an open fire, wrapped in bulrushes, and put under the parturient. This practice was supposed to stimulate labor pains (121, pp. 659-660). My informants did not give any information about this custom.

A woman in labor delivers in a squatting position. She kneels on the floor, reclining against her husband, who assumes the same position behind her. The husband or some other person assists the parturient by holding her under her armpits and massaging her stomach with both hands crossed on the navel region. Relatives and friends gather in the house to comfort the woman.

At the moment of delivery the man who ties the navel cord (*tangata hahau pito*) is called in. The tying of the navel cord is sacred and must be performed according to ritual (pp. 64-65). At the present time only five persons on the island know how to bind the navel; they are Juan Tepano, Mateo Beriberi, Timoteo Pakarati, Santiago Pakarati, and Leon Rahoroa. The first knot (*hahau a te matau*, string of the right) is tied after the string has made transverse turns around the navel cord passing from left to right. After three more transverse turns passing from right to left, the second knot (*hahau patu mauí*, string of the left) is tied. These knots keep the child's strength in his body. The navel cord is cut by a boy or girl (*kope* or *vie nagi pito*, young man or woman who bites the navel), who cuts with the teeth or an
[465] obsidian knife—formerly they preferred to bite it. The cord cutter was paid with fowls and sweet potatoes. Sometimes he received a young cock which he could not kill lest the strength of the new-born child be destroyed. He could give the cock to a foreigner, but usually it was allowed to die with age.
[787] Generally the cord cutter must tell what he dreamed the night before. If he saw cows or stars it was a favorable sign for the child. Anything related to the skies was a good sign, but falling stars or any falling thing was believed
[845] to portend ill-luck. Modern Easter Islanders retain this belief in the significance of omens. The word *topa-tini* is used for children that are born by breech presentation.

846 Most ceremonial customs dealing with disposal of the umbilical cord have become obsolete. In ancient times the wound was smeared with red ocher (*kica*) from a place called Te Tiamo, near Poike. Sometimes the umbilical cord and placenta were put into a calabash and taken to the shore by the

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child's paternal grandmother who threw them into the sea as she pronounced a charm (*iwi-atua*): "Ka oho, kangaro ki hiva!" (May it be lost in a foreign country!) Sometimes the cord was buried under stone, and a charm pronounced over it: "Ka noho hiohio koe i toou kainga!" (May you stay strong in your country!) The land in which the umbilical cord was concealed was tapu; if anyone trod upon it, his legs were covered with white spots (*kino*). Ahu Hanga-varevare, near Tahai, is one of the places where navel cords were hidden. In 1886 Easter Island natives told Thomson that the people who walked over certain rocks near Ana-hoi-hangaroa were afflicted with sore feet. Thomson (215, p. 484) remarks, "We received many solemn warnings in regard to it."

Immediately after birth the child was washed in a large calabash filled with warm water heated with hot stones. According to Knoche (121, p. 660) hot, flat stones were applied to the stomach of the mother after childbirth, to keep the waist without folds. I heard no mention of this custom and the pitiful condition of young women after several childbirths does not testify to the efficiency of this precaution. A woman who has had children is called *heipara*. The same word applies to a plant which produces young shoots.

BIRTH FEAST

A feast was celebrated on the day of the child's birth (*te topanga*). The father's family presented a gift of food to the mother's family. As at the pregnancy feast, the woman ate first or, at her suggestion, her husband started the meal. It was forbidden to cook sweet potatoes in the oven. The oven was tapu and refuse was buried carefully in the ground. Two feasts were given for the first-born child only, whose name was given by the father's brother or sister.

CHILDHOOD

A small child, until he is 6 months old, is a *puepue*; at 6 months he becomes a *ppki-tua-huri* (child-who-can-turn). When the child was 6 or 7 months old, his father's brother cut his hair with an obsidian point (*mataa*). At the same time a brother or cousin of his mother gave him a basket containing three or five chickens. This ceremony was called *puoko varu* (hair cutting). When the child began to creep, a maternal uncle gave him a basket with fowls (*kete hakaraka*, basket of crawling). Another present was given to him when he put on his first breechcloth of tapa (*hami-haka-huue*). At 8 or 10 years of age he was tattooed on his legs. At this time his maternal uncle offered him 20 or 30 fowls called *moa o te kona* (fowls for the legs) which became tapu; they could not be eaten by the family but could be traded to a foreigner or transferred to another family, according to the rules of the *koro* (p. 346).

The child was surrounded by many tapus. His head was considered sacred

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548 554 562 urged to prostitute themselves were probably unmarried girls or women belonging to a lower class. Wives of chiefs, priests, or jealous men were probably obliged to remain hidden while visitors stayed on the island.

548 562 837 There has been little change in Easter Island morals. Every foreigner who comes ashore is the object of the most provocative offers on the part of the women, assisted by the men. Prostitution is considered a great source of profit by both sexes and is practiced not only with foreigners but among the natives themselves. An elderly man may have sexual intercourse with girls of 12 or 13 years whom he pays for it. Some women who are no longer attractive take as lovers very young boys to whom they give presents or make an offer to reveal the secrets of sexual life.

831 834 [431] Despite the intense religious feeling of the islanders and the efforts of the catechist, sexual life is extremely free, usually with no restrictions whatever. Apparently love intrigues are short and devoid of sentimental background. Unions between young people are temporary and little jealousy, if any, is shown. Handsome young men who are good dancers are evidently favorites of the women. Gifts play an important part in love affairs.

836 Missionaries allude to the great "immorality" of the natives and complain that the pagan feasts, especially those that lasted a long time, were occasions for great license (230, vol. 6, p. 122). Geiseler (87, p. 29) writes:

> There are many cases of young girls remaining unmarried and belonging to the community, and they were highly valued . . . Even girls betrothed in childhood were to the moment they went to live with their husbands entirely free and might dispose of their persons without provoking scandal. In many instances girls had at least five permanent lovers. With the scarcity of women and the great number of men obliged to remain bachelors, such a condition is easily understood.

838 Pederasty does not appear among adults and no instance of such sexual aberration has been referred to by any inquirer. On the other hand, abnormal sex relationships between women is tolerated and accepted. Such relationships are between middle-aged women who are unattractive to men, and young women whom they have seduced. No other sex abnormalities have been reported.

Marriage

Marriage Laws

582 [835] When asked about marriage restrictions, the islanders would say only that *taina* (cousins) may not marry unless they are *taina haihai* (remote cousins). Relationship between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law was considered incestuous. Degrees of relationship permissible in marriage have been accurately established by Routledge (228, vol. 2, pp. 144-145):

> Brother and sister were two degrees apart, first cousins were four degrees, second cousins six degrees, and third cousins eight degrees, a method, I may point out, evidently based upon counting from one of the related persons up to the common ancestor, and then

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down again to the other. "The only restriction was that which forbade marriage" before the fourth generation—that is, it only went down to and included second cousins; so that third cousins might marry. 582

A tale dictated by my informant expresses the horror inspired by incest and the punishment that threatened those who committed this crime. The word *paakeake* applies to the act of committing incest with a cousin. 684 835

A man whose name was Taropa had sexual intercourse at night with his cousin. The girl asked, "Who are you?" He said, "I am Taropa." The girl said, "Do not touch me. You are my cousin." "No," replied Taropa, "it does not matter if you do not speak about it." He grasped the girl firmly to violate her. All the time she was protesting, "No, no, I am your cousin," but Taropa did not listen to her. In the end she grew tired of the struggle, and the man put his hand between her legs. He copulated with her. When he finished, he left and ran away. She took the sperm, put it into a piece of tapa, and kept it. At dawn she took it to her father and said, "Here is a bundle belonging to Taropa. He slept with me." The father took the bundle and put it aside. A war broke out between the Tupa-hotu and the Miru. The people fled and hid in a cave called Anatetehe-tama. The young Taropa also hid there. The father of the girl whom Taropa had violated was among the enemies. They took the people of Tupa-hotu and killed them. Taropa went out, and the girl's father cut his throat with the bone of a swordfish. He took the blood and drank it because this Taropa had slept with his own cousin.

Infant betrothal was apparently a widespread custom in olden days. Children whose parents were friends were often engaged to each other, the bride being supposedly chosen by the boy's father, especially if he were a chief. Child marriages were celebrated with the same formalities as those of the adults but the children were not allowed to live together until mature. In the only concrete instance of such a union the boy was 12 years old and the girl was the same age or younger (87, p. 29; 54, p. 717; 86, p. 39). Traditions persisting today about infant betrothal may be summarized as follows: 584

A little girl was considered the prospective wife of an adult man who waited until she became mature. The bridegroom's father brought food for his future daughter-in-law, and his present was called *taku te hunonga ma taana poki* (present of the father-in-law to his child). The father of the boy filled big baskets with fowls and carried them to the girl's house. On the other hand, an adult woman might be engaged to a little boy who received presents from his future father-in-law. 584 431

Girls often bear their first child when they are 15 or 16 years old. At marriage a woman may already have several children, frequently by different fathers. The husband does not object to the children and assumes responsibility for them as if they were his own. Widows usually marry again and there are a few women who have had three or four husbands in succession. 848 587

According to Geiseler (87, p. 29), young men married between the ages of 17 and 20. Each built a hut of his own where the girl to whom he was betrothed came to live. Geiseler states that only married men were allowed to bear the vulva motif tattooed on their chest. As this is not recorded elsewhere it is probably a misinterpretation. 582 591 304 831

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JOINT PROPERTY

592 423 241 Roussel (190, p. 428) says that the fields were planted and the crops harvested in common by the members of a household or by the people living at the same place [lineage]. The workers were rewarded with a feast (*hatu*), the size of which depended upon the extent of the land and the importance of the owner. The dimensions given by early voyagers for the dwelling houses suggest that several biological families, probably closely related, lived together.

235 422 436 Near the foundations of ancient houses are generally found chicken houses of stone in which the fowls were kept during the night. It is impossible to determine now what system of property was applied as regards poultry. Hens undoubtedly had a great value and were used for exchange. Today fowls are personal property and every man identifies his hens by an ownership mark cut on the legs. I was unable to discover whether ownership marks were used in ancient times or adopted under Chilian influence.

431 476 602 Today everyone gives freely of his clothes and of cooking and tilling implements. Between relatives there is a constant exchange of gifts conforming to patterns of reciprocity. Children are permitted to use anything they need from the houses of either their paternal or maternal relatives. During his first stay on the island, Eyraud was obliged by the natives to build a boat. They gathered wood from all over the island and everyone participated in the construction of the truly "national boat."

226 422 501 The few boats on Easter Island are joint property of all those who have contributed to their building, either in work or in furnishing wood. One such boat belongs to seven men, and each must give his permission before the boat can be used. The joint owners of a boat fish together and divide their catch among their own families. If the canoe belongs to a single person, those who help him fish receive the least desirable fish, and the owner keeps the tuna fish.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

THIEVERY

674 577 The thievery of Easter Islanders has been stressed by all visitors and their dishonesty has become as famous as their statues. Even when the Europeans avenged the small thefts by slaughtering the unarmed natives, the islanders continued to steal. They used the charms of their women to distract the seamen while they robbed them of their hats or handkerchiefs.

181 674 577 The thievery of the natives is not merely the result of uncontrolled desire for many new and astonishing things. Their dishonesty appears innate and systematic; they enjoy stealing the fruits they have given to their visitors as much as the theft of cloth or European articles. Their bartering with the white men is absolutely unscrupulous; they filled with stones the baskets

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532 439 Each year, when the *Baquedano* arrives with her crew of cadets, the natives barter images for clothes and soap. Though expert carvers are few, through [431] the complicated system of mutual gifts every man and woman has a number of statues to sell. Some manufacturers have workshops with most up-to-date tools. The images are caved with chisel and plane and polished with emery paper.

532 The carved human figures can be classified as follows: *moai kavakava,* emaciated men (except for a few modern images); *moai paapaa,* thin women with some male characteristics; *moai aringa,* double-headed images; *manu-*

FIGURE 37.—Male wooden image (*moai kavakava*): *a*, front, human figure carved in relief on top of head (fig. 38, *a*), lips closer together in middle than at sides, nipples indicated just above ribs, two pairs of 12 ribs with sternum lacking, xiphisternum long, sharp, and bent inward, long abdomen separated from innominate bones by deep groove; *b*, back, seventh cervicle pierced with hole for suspension, 13 vertebrae, innominate bones indicated by three ridges forming a triangle divided by sacrum; *c*, side, height 455 mm., shoulder width 96 mm. (Ratton coll., Paris).

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Koro

574 The feast for honoring a living father, mother, father-in-law, or mother-
● 431 in-law is called *koro*; it has survived until very recent times. I was told
554 that the *koro* is still celebrated but I believe that the traditional *koro* has been displaced by a more familiar feast, also called *koro*. The *paina* and *koro* are very similar; some sources maintain that they are identical, differing only in the fact that the first was intended for a dead parent and the second for a living parent. But, since modern informants may have attributed to the *paina* some of the features of the more familiar *koro*, reservations must be made.

My principal informant, Juan Tepano, believed that the last *koro* was celebrated about 1886. But Victoria Rapahango, 36 years old, described to me the *koro* of her brother, at which she assisted when she was a young girl. The word *koro* means "feast" and I suppose that Tepano had in mind the old pageant festivities when he spoke about the disappearance of the *koro*. But *koro* also means "father" and is employed as a reverential term when speaking to an older man (*e koro e*).

574 A man celebrating a *koro* for his father presented himself on a fixed day
431 before his relatives and friends with 200 or 300 fowls tied in groups of 10
602 to a long rope. He handed a fowl to his father. The father received it and picked out other fowls which he gave to each of his brothers, sisters, or
554 cousins, both male and female. Sometimes the father presented fowls to some of his good friends. After this first distribution the father bestowed the remaining fowls upon his most beloved brother who was called the *motuha* and who ritually carried the fowls on his shoulders. This brother did not keep the birds, but presented them to his wife who passed them on to her brother. The brother gave them to his wife, and she in turn gave them to her brother and he to his brother-in-law. If brothers were lacking, the fowls were given to a sister or to a cousin, male or female on either the mother's or the father's side. If the wife of the *motuha* had no brother or cousin, she gave the fowls to her father or mother. The fowls were eaten when they had been given away five times. Then everyone wanted to have them and shouted, "ma aku, ma aku!" (for me, for me!). The man who gave a great *koro* was honored with the title of *tangata honui* (great man, generous). My informants and Roussel (190, p. 428) stress the fact that the man honored in a *koro* did not keep the food he received for himself or at least very little of it.

A return gift of fowls was made to the host of the *koro* on a later occasion through the same series of presentation. If the wife of the brother of the wife of the *motuha* received fowls from her son, the man who made the first *koro* would eventually get them. The following definite examples, given to me by informants, illustrate the preceding statements:

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Years ago, the father of Victoria made two *koro*, one in behalf of the father-in-law and the other in behalf of the mother-in-law of his son, Miguel Rapahango. He wanted to make his son "big" (*haka honui tasna poki*). The brothers and closest relatives and his other sons and daughters each contributed fowls or some kind of food. All these presents were to be returned some day. The fowls given by the brothers were delivered to the brothers and cousins of Miguel's father-in-law, Emilio Paoa, who received the *koro*. The other fowls were given to Emilio who bestowed them upon his brother (*motuha*).

The feast was celebrated in the house of Victoria's father and there were more than 250 fowls bound to two ropes. In the same place there was a big earth oven or food gift (*umu parehaoga*). The *motuha*, on the same day, made another earth oven in his house and brought the food to the house of Victoria's father. The food gift of the *motuha* was called *umu motuha*. He gave the food to Miguel Rapahango, who presented it to his own father. The food taken out of the earth oven of the *koro* giver was delivered to the father-in-law and to the people who helped.

Victoria remembered quite well that Miguel's wife untied one fowl and gave it to her father, Emilio Paoa, who took the other fowls presented by the brothers and sisters of his son-in-law and distributed them among his relatives of the Paoa family. The other fowls, with the exception of 20, he delivered to his brother. The brother distributed the fowls among his family and friends because he had no wife or other brothers. Emilio Paoa gave some fowls to his *tumu*, who is a neighbor, a man of a tribe living close by.

If the *koro* was celebrated for a mother-in-law, she gave the fowls to her brother, he to his wife, the wife to her brother, and so on. During the feast the people sang this song:

I o te korongo mai nei	Here is the feast sung
I Moana-vera-vera-ra-tahai	In Moana-vera-vera-ra-tahai (name of a place)
Rima turu, turu.	Hands raising, raising.

I asked Tepano to imagine that Beatriz, who was the wife of his son Jorge, made a *koro* for him. Tepano said he would give the fowls to his brother, Pakomio. Pakomio would present them to his wife and she to her brother. A cousin of Pakomio's wife could make a *koro* and the presents would come back in the same way. Sometimes a brother of the father-in-law of the *motuha* might give fowls to his brother, who in turn gave them to his wife; she delivered them to her daughter, the *motuha's* wife. The *motuha*, Tepano's uncle, would give the fowls back to Tepano.

As a rule one never made a *koro* for his brother or his cousins, but if one were an orphan he sometimes celebrated a *koro* for an elder brother. The present made in a *koro* was called *mee ravaa* (?) or *mahia*. A *koro* could be celebrated in honor of a dead father (*koro puoko mata*, feast of the dead skull of the father). The paternal uncle received it for the dead. The son who offered such a *koro* was assisted by his brothers, his cousins, and his friends.

There were no *koro* in winter because the earth ovens of the *koro* are "finished" (*umu koro huri*). The man who presented a *koro* during the month of July made a special earth oven which was called *umu anakena*. In it he cooked some fowls which he gave to the *motuha*. Tepano informed me once that the *motuha* could keep 5 or 10 fowls. They were called *haokuku*. The *motuha* brought to the feast from 20 to 50 fowls which he delivered to his

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574 brother who in his turn gave them to his son. Sometimes they were given to
431 the wife of the man who made the *koro*; she passed them on to her brother
or her father.

602 I was told that the son could give 5 or 10 fowls to his father on the
554 occasion of the *umu anakena*. The father distributed them among people who had helped him when he was hungry (in time of famine for instance). This present was called *moa haka kio* (to reward with fowls; literally, "fowls made prisoners").

During the feast of the *koro* the father or the mother praised the generosity of the son:

[539] E poki koro nui e mooku mo te matua e (e nau e)
Son of feast great for me for the father (for the mother)

If he had already made a *koro* for one of the parents the formula would be a little different:

[539] E poki koro nui mo maua ko mua e
Son of feast great for me and for your mother

431 The *koro* is closely related to a custom which is now prevalent in Easter
602 Island and which obliges the men to make presents to the brothers or the cousins of their wives. Generally it is only one brother or one cousin who receives these presents. I was told by all my informants that "the brother-in-law who is chosen is the best-liked one, and sometimes the others become jealous." A husband must also make presents to the sister of his wife. Every one who receives a present must make a return gift on a later occasion, and if he has self respect he will give more than he has received. The *mahia* or present to a brother-in-law or a cousin cannot be something made by one's self; it must be a gift obtained from a parent or a friend. As Tepano told me, "The one who gives you fowls, he only is your brother, only the fowls have value." That is, the symbolism of the gift stresses a close personal relationship between the giver and the cousin chosen as recipient. The *mahia* may also be a circulating present which passes through many hands according to the old *koro* system.

KORO HOUSE

345 In connection with the *koro* is always mentioned a big house, also called *koro*, where young people spent their time playing various games. This house was the material symbol of the generosity of the *koro* giver. Tradition has preserved descriptions of *koro* houses which were several hundred feet long and more than 20 feet high. Materials for the construction of the house were often provided by relatives or friends who aided the giver of the *koro* in his expenditures. Tepano said that *koro* houses were intended for young

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people, both boys and girls, who resided in them for months, generously provided with all sorts of delicacies, but tales seem to indicate that adults also could enjoy the careless life of the *koro* houses. Certain tapus seem to have been enforced on the *koro*, and definite rules were observed in them; no religious ceremonies are mentioned apart from the consecration of the house by an *ariki*.

The host, whose own house was near the *koro*, supervised everything and enjoyed the sight of all the people having a good time. Food was distributed in abundance, and sometimes more than 10 earth ovens were cooking at the same time. The sweet potatoes and chickens which were served during the feast had been accumulated by the owner of the *koro* over a long period of time, and his relatives or friends contributed presents of food, given to him under the condition that some day he would help them on a similar occasion. The last day of the feast was especially gay, and when the rejoicings were over the *koro* house was pulled down with the aid of wooden carved lizards. (See 194, p. 234.) The poles which had been used in the *koro* construction were carefully guarded to be used for the next celebration.

The *koro* houses were supposed to be kept clean. Tradition tells of a *koro* house to which the *ariki* Tuu-ko-ihu was invited and which he left because he saw in it the excrement of a child:

They built a *koro* house in Ahu-a-pepe. They made a very long house. They had yams, sweet potatoes, and chickens. They lit the oven, they threw the food into it and cooked it. They sent a message to Tuu-ko-ihu to call him to this new *koro* where food was ready. A child defecated in the house. The king came and went in and spoke to the owner of the *koro*, "Now take out the food for the king, put in the sugar cane." The head of Oroi was hanging down in the house. Tuu-ko-ihu noticed it and recognized it, "Here is the head of Oroi," he said, "Rest here, your teeth used formerly to eat turtle meat in the foreign country of Marae-renga."

They gathered bananas in the house. Tuu-ko-ihu saw the excrement of the child. He could no longer eat sugar cane, banana, sweet potatoes, chicken, or fish. He got sick because of this excrement. Tuu-ko-ihu took the hanging head and went to his home. The people in the *koro* house said, "The king does not eat the food. Who took the head which was hanging down?" The owner of the *koro* saw the excrement and said, "That's why the king did not eat. Stinking is the excrement of the child." He noticed then that the head was no longer there and that the king had taken it with him.

The owner of the *koro* gathered chickens, fish, tuna fish, and eels, and enlisted the workers to help him to recover the head. They removed the stones, they dug the ground until they reached the house of Tuu-ko-ihu where the head had been buried. They dug everywhere, even under the seat of Tuu-ko-ihu. There they found the head and took it from the king.

The owner was working in a banana plantation. He saw a rat, chased it and digging in the hole of the rat found the skull (again).

Areauti

The *areauti* feast, held in fall and winter, was probably similar to the *koro*. For both feasts a special hut was erected, and both were given at the

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not as complete as they might be, and may tend to be weighted in that all four men were related in one way or another. However this paper, and one on trading techniques which I hope to publish at a future date, show quite clearly that advanced acculturation on the island is, for the most part, only material culture deep and has as yet penetrated only sporadically into the social organization of the people.

BIRTH

Except for a ceremony at the birth of a first child, there appears to be no regularized ritual for births as such. At the present moment an expectant mother either goes to the Naval-run hospital for delivery, or stays at home where her child is delivered with the aid of a midwife. I could learn of no pre-natal or post-parture taboos enforced on either the parents or the child. The rubbing of a fine red iron oxide powder into the baby's navel may have once had ceremonial significance but is now explained as merely an aid in the drying up of the umbilical cord.

It is apparently only the first child, especially a boy child, whose birth is fraught with a danger that must be assuaged by ceremony. Once the ceremony has been completed, however, a time for general celebration and feasting is immediately at hand.

Upon the occasion of the first birth to a married couple the father-in-law of the child's mother immediately prepares a small *umu*, i.e., a meal prepared in a pit oven, which is allowed to cook through the night. At the break of dawn on the following day the immediate families of both the child's parents open the *umu* but do not touch the inclosed food until the new mother has first partaken of it to "bring luck to her baby." After she has eaten this token meal, these relatives finish this initial *umu* and immediately begin preparations for a large *umu* feast for their friends and relatives in celebration of the birth. As with the inter-familial exchange of gifts at the time of a wedding, the respective families of the new parents each prepare their own *umu* and, upon its completion, present it to the opposite family, after which both meals are pooled for the general feasting of friends and relatives. Since such a feast may have to provide for a large portion of the population, each member of the extended family may be called upon to furnish a quantity of food in the form of chickens, eggs, *camotes* or sweet potatoes, etc. Even friends may be called upon and "if they have food beyond their needs they will give to the *umu*." Each friend or relative coming to the feast brings with him, or her, a small *umu* gift for the new mother. This usually consists of a small, wrapped bundle containing chicken or, perhaps, *camote*. It was never made

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852 completely clear to me if these small gifts had to be cooked in a pit oven, or *umu*,
[431] or whether they were simply cooked food brought to this celebration, though I am inclined to feel that, considering the first ceremonial *umu*, they were probably especially prepared in a pit oven.

177 According to Jorge and Roberto, this ceremony is occasionally still performed
431 as above but is gradually being supplanted by a modified version. This new pattern
852 is best described by Jorge's plans for the celebration of a forthcoming first birth in the family of one of his recently married sons. Jorge explained that, upon the birth of the child, he would make a "table" of gifts for his son's father-in-law, and the father-in-law, in turn, would make a gift table for Jorge. These they would exchange at a party, and the exchanged gifts would then be distributed among the
[574] relatives of each father-in-law. The party, rather than being the traditional *umu*, would be a time when a little wine or liquor was served to the guests, and all would sing and dance during the evening. Whether or not Jorge would prepare the small *umu* for the first eating by the new mother could not be learned. Considering,
[114] however, that the Easter Islanders would feel that Chileans, and therefore all foreigners, would ridicule such a rite as superstitious, it is possible that Jorge's diffidence on the matter actually reflected a plan to carry out such a ritual, the fear of overt or covert ridicule on my part, however, forbidding his admitting it.

858 Although the sex of the first born does not appear to change the initial *umu* ceremony, there is ample evidence that the first born boy, whether or not he is the first child, not only stands in a special relationship to his father but to the powers of the supernatural world as well. From the day of his birth he is seen as being in a "very delicate" situation, to the extent that he is more easily subject to death than are his sisters and later born brothers. Owing to this situation he is treated in a special manner, is continually watched over, and is never allowed to go near such dangerous places as a rough beach or a high cliff. This delicate situation may continue for many years and can only be dissipated, and then completely, upon the death of one of his brothers. Thus, the death of any one of the brothers (of a first born son) liberates the earliest born forever from his close companionship with death, and he is henceforth allowed to travel at will and carries no restrictions, except where his father is concerned.

593 Throughout life the first born son and his father must carefully observe certain
784 taboos in relation to one another. Neither, for example, may cut the other's hair,
858 for to do so would bring bad luck to the one whose hair was cut. Should the father get sick, the son must not approach him, since to do this would cause the father's death. The reverse is true in the event of illness befalling the first born son. No such taboos appear to hold for the parent-sib relationship of the other children of the family. This special relationship of the father and his first born son was de-

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836 by the people as a necking party is in the United States. There is seldom, if ever, any secrecy surrounding such momentary love matches, and whereas the girls come [522] in for a certain amount of joking from the older people, it is the boys who bear the greater brunt of the jokes. A term commonly heard in such joking sessions is that of *muy tatani* (very devilish) and it is used to describe the feelings of a young [797] man or woman toward his, or her, partner. Such premarital affairs are regarded as quite normal and natural, in spite of the nominal acceptance of the Catholic [832] faith, and, as my workmen once pointed out, a young man is naturally *muy toro* and must have his girls and stay up late at night. However, when a person reaches the age of about thirty he is described as being only *medio torito*.

848 Should a child be born out of wedlock there is never a curse on mother, child, or father. On Easter Island, as in many parts of the rural world, a large family [842] is looked upon as highly desirable since the children can eventually help with the work. With this concept well entrenched in the culture of the island, a girl bringing a child with her into marriage constitutes an advantageous acquisition.

431 A side light on the problems of courting comes from a statement made by 836 Martin Rapu, one of our foremen. Martin reflected that when he was young and unmarried (he is now twenty-two and was married at twenty) he changed girls often and it was much trouble and quiet costly, for he had to give each new girl [581] presents from time to time. Finally his father advised him to get married, for he, the father, could no longer afford the gifts that Martin needed each time he changed girls. Martin then added that he had found married life a lot calmer and more peaceful than that of his premarital years.

584 When a boy has finally decided upon the girl he wants to marry he may ask for her through her parents in one of two ways. He may go personally to the girl's father or mother and ask for the girl. If he is accepted he returns home immediately and notifies his father of the fact. The father then goes to the house of the girl's parents and the two families give a party to which their respective extended family relatives are invited. Both families join in furnishing liquor and food for the affair, though the boy's father may go through the ceremony of pouring the first [583] round of drinks. At this time there appears to be a small exchange of gifts between the families, apparently no more than a token exchange, for Jorge mentioned that a little money might change hands, but in telling of it he did not seem to regard it as much of anything.

The second method of arranging a marriage is for the youth to tell his father of the girl he wishes to marry. It then becomes the father's duty to go to the house of the girl and, bringing with him a little liquor, ask the father or mother of the girl for permission for his son to marry her. Consent appears to be primarily

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marriage. For example, in discussing what would happen if a husband committed adultery, Jorge explained that if the wife found out, or the husband was "too open" about his affair, not only would the wife become very angry but his father-in-law would come to the house and have a severe talk with him. Again, when Martin Rapu was given an opportunity by the Chilean government to go to the continent it was necessary for him to obtain permission to make the trip from Jorge Tepano, his father-in-law. Jorge refused to consent on the basis that, not only was Martin's house incomplete,[5] but he still owed Jorge several sheets of corrugated iron roofing. Should Martin leave the island he would be unable to return the items, for he would not be included in the following year's ration list. When Martin's father interceded in his son's behalf, Jorge questioned the father by saying, "Why do you want your son to go, for if he goes it is you that must take care of my daughter and that will cost you money."

In this statement we see at least one of the roles of the wife's father-in-law, i.e., as the protector of his son's wife. This role of protector is still very common, if not universal, on the island but, as far as I can gather, comes into play only when the husband is actually leaving the island for any extended time. The responsibilities of this position are fully understood and respected by the wife to the extent that, in one instance, the governor of the island, Commander Curti, was forced to go to a woman's father-in-law to obtain permission for the woman to work for Mrs Curti in the governor's mansion. In this instance the woman was fully mature, being well along in her forties, but her husband had gone to Chile to work and therefore the decision had to be made by her father-in-law.

Further evidence of the important position held by the girl's father in a marriage is seen in the *koro* ceremony which is given by a young husband for his father-in-law to show him what a good son-in-law he has. This is a post-marriage rite which may be given up to a year or two after the couple has married. During the intervening period the husband's extended family helps him collect as many roosters as possible. When a sufficient number have been accumulated, the husband invites his wife's immediate relatives and her extended family to a feast. When the feasting has been completed, the collected roosters appear, each rooster individually tied to a single long rope stretched out upon the ground. There may be from one hundred to one hundred and fifty birds tied to such a rope. With the termination of the feasting the husband presents the string of roosters to his father-

5 I came across several cases on the island where the lack of a house, or the incompleteness of a house, was given as the reason for a man's not taking a trip away from the island. The need to properly house one's family before setting off on a long trip appears paramount in the eyes of the Rapa-nui.

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584 in-law as a gift. The father-in-law accepts the gift and immediately gives a rooster
574 to each of his brothers and sisters. If one of his brothers has given a feast in his
431 honor,[6] he will then take the remainder of the string of birds and drape it over
[606 the neck of this particular brother. In doing this he gives the brother the honor of starting the apportioning of the roosters among the members of the extended family. The brother so honored takes the roosters and gives them to his wife who, after taking one herself, passes the string down through the relatives until each has one of the birds. In this act the brother has, in effect, been given the same honor as that of the "secretary," or *motuha*, who distributes the gifts at the time of a wedding.

174 The strong position of a wife's father may hark back to an earlier custom
584 whereby a mother or father, noting a hard-working bachelor with a good planta-
606 tion of yams, *camote*, sugar cane, etc., presented their daughter to the man for
581 his acceptance or rejection. Neither the desires of the daughter nor the age of the bachelor in relation to the girl's was considered.

584 The operation of such a marriage was described as follows. Noting a hard-working bachelor and seeing in him an opportunity for a "wealthy" marriage for their daughter, the father of the girl would either send his daughter to the man, or more commonly, take her to the bachelor's home. Upon entering the house, the father would ask, "Where are you?" and the bachelor would answer, "Here I am," whereupon the father would leave the girl in the house and say, "Here." If the bachelor accepted the girl he immediately went outside and gathered together chickens, yams, *camotes*, and other foods to make a big *umu* feast for the
[586] girl's father. However, if at some future date the girl's father felt that his daughter's husband was no longer working hard in his fields or at fishing, he had the right to come and take her away and give her to some other man. In extreme cases a girl was allowed to leave her husband and return home.

177 Today such forced marriages no longer exist, but a father may counsel his
584 daughter to marry some hard-working bachelor of his choice. If she refuses he will wait awhile and again counsel her, repeating this advice until she marries the man. As one of my informants put it, "He will keep counseling her until the idea
[581] and the advantages of such a marriage are well in her head." In such marriages one interesting change has been made. No daughter is "counseled" into a marriage with a man too much older than she, for, "See how much older brothers fight with their too young sisters — it is the same with such a marriage."

6 Presumably this refers to a *hare*, although according to Métraux such feasts honoring a brother were not common.

2:Fordon A-5 (1956) 1957
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may constitute an innovation. However, it is so typically Rapa-nui in character, even including the interchange of food by the two families involved, that, if it is not old, it certainly represents a change from within the indigenous cultural pattern. That this feast is now breaking down and being supplanted by a European-like party is indicated by Jorge Tepano's plans for the celebration of the birth of a first child to one of his sons. However, the exchange feature continues, although gifts other than food are now beginning to be used.

Of perhaps greater significance is the change being wrought by the local government school, not only via the forced introduction of Spanish, mathematics, and the like, but, indirectly, on the life habits of the adolescent. Not only are the initiation rites of puberty no longer carried out — nor have they been for some time — but the ancient attitude that young men up to the age of marriage should devote their time to pleasurable living has undergone a noticeable modification. It is possible that in this we have an influence from Chile, in that on the continent, which natives have been allowed to visit from time to time, a boy completes his education and goes to work. Although the age for such activity in Chile may be a bit later than on Easter Island, owing to more extensive education, the fact that the island's schooling is completed for a boy at age thirteen may account for the islander's new attitude that this period marks the beginning of work for their youth.

Having noted some of the more important acculturation changes in the life cycle of the Easter Islander, we may now turn briefly to some of the correspondences with ancient custom as determined from Métraux's attempted reconstruction of the culture of the past.

Although the *umu* feast on the third or fifth month of pregnancy appears to have been dropped, the *umu* at the birth of a first child, with its rite of first food for the mother, continues.[12] Whereas the adolescent no longer goes through a puberty rite, and must now engage in a certain amount of work, his earlier freedom of sex life continues unabated. Marriage, including the gift exchange and marriage feast, continues substantially as Métraux described it for the past,[13] except for the inclusion of church ritual and an unexplained, though minor, change in the manner of exhibiting the exchanged gifts. Here Métraux describes a conical framework of poles upon which the items were exhibited, while during my stay on the island I heard numerous references to the gifts being displayed in such a way that they formed a boat.[14]

Of special interest is the continued existence of the *tumu* grouping of lineages,

12 *Idem*, pp. 101, 103.
13 *Idem*, p. 111.
14 *Loc. cit.*

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
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After the astonishment and terror of the natives were somewhat allayed, on their seeing that our hostilities were not persisted in, they were given to know by signs that the victims had threatened to make an assault upon us by stone-throwing, and the inhabitants, who had been just in front of us all the time, approached our leaders again; in particular one who seemed to be in authority over the other headmen, for, giving a general direction that everything they had should be fetched and laid before us, including fruit, root crops, and poultry, the order was promptly obeyed with reverence and bowing by those round about, as the event proved; for in a little while they brought a great abundance of sugar-cane, fowls, yams[1], and bananas; but we gave them to understand through signs that we desired nothing, excepting only the fowls, which were about sixty in number, and thirty bunches of bananas, for which we paid them ample value in striped linen, with which they appeared to be well pleased and satisfied. By the time we had fully investigated things, and especially their cloth stuffs and the dyes of them, and also the supposed silver plates and mother-of-pearl, it was found that they were made up of pieces patched together; that is, that the wraps worn on their bodies were composed of some field-product, sewn three or four ply in thickness, yet neat and trim, which material (as called in the West Indies) is a sort of *Piet*: further, that the soil of the country (as we saw in several places) was red, and yellowish, into the which when mixed with water they dip their garments and afterwards let them dry, which shows that their dye is not fast, for when felt about and handled one finds the colour come off on one's fingers, not only after touching new articles but also from old and worn ones. The plates imagined to be of silver were made out of the root of some

[1] *Uḃaswortelu*, a coined hybrid word; from the Malay *ubi*, a yam, and the Dutch *wortel*, a root.

7: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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While acting as a beacon as above stated and awaiting the arrival of the ship, three of the natives swam off, [their bodies] painted in various colours, and keeping near the boat, shouting constantly, until one of them came at last so close as to present me with a morsel of yam: I gave him some biscuit and tobacco, all of which he accepted. He carried his provisions in a satchel neatly plaited of fine straw. When the ship came to an anchor these three went off ashore again, but returned with another swimming and making straight for the ship, on board of which they climbed with much agility, shouting all the while and exhibiting much gayness of spirit. They ran about freely from stem to stern, and full of mirth, climbing about the rigging like sailormen. [Our people] played the *cara* and fife to them, and they began to dance, evincing great pleasure. They were given ribbons, shirts, trousers, seamen's jumpers, and small gilt metal crosses: they accepted them all with gladness, the biscuit they received without remark until they saw our people eat some. It pleased them well and then they asked for it, and applied themselves freely to the consumption of salt pork and rice, &c.

On the said 16th of November we embarked at one o'clock in the day, Don Cayetano Lángara, senior lieutenant, Don Pedro Obregon, midshipman, a serjeant, a corporal of marines, a gunner, some marines and myself, in the launch, fully armed and equipped for service, with orders to make a complete circuit of the island in company with the *Rosalia's* launch, with her officer Don Demetrio Ezeta, senior lieutenant, each one fitted with a swivel gun in the bows. We set to work to take soundings, giving names to the points, bays, &c., as shown on the plan of the island. At half-past six in the evening we brought to in a cove which we called after Lángara: we tried to effect a landing but this was not practicable as the sea was breaking with such force all along the shore, which was rocky at all

8: Behrens T-5 (1721-1722) 1908
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speech and gesture. We gave this South Lander or foreign visitor a glass of wine to drink; but he only took it and tossed it into his eyes, whereat we were surprised. I fancy he thought that we designed to poison him by its means, which is a common usage among Indians. Thereupon we dressed our new guest in garments and put him on a hat, but he was evidently very ill at ease in clothing. We also regaled him with food; but he was quite ignorant of the use of a spoon, knife, or fork. After he had taken his meal our musicians treated him to a specimen of each one of their instruments; and whenever any person took him by the hand he began at once to caper and dance about. We were much pleased to see his enjoyment; but we did not come to an anchor that day, and therefore let him go back to the shore with the aforesaid presents to acquaint his friends in what manner he had been entertained. But he parted from us unwillingly: and held up his hands, cast his glances towards the land, and began to cry out loudly in these words, *O dorroga! O dorroga!* He was not at all disposed to return to his skiff, but preferred to remain with us that we might convey him ashore in our ship. I make no doubt that, by means of the aforementioned exclamation he was appealing to his god, as we could see great numbers of heathen idols erected on shore.

We remained close under the land all night until towards morning, when we stood in in a S.E. direction towards a bay or indentation in the coast to anchor. The natives swam off in the water in thousands; some with small dinghies or skiffs brought us uncooked and baked hens, together with many roots; while on the beach they were running up and down like deer. Some were seated in groups of fifty[1] or a hundred, and looked upon our ship with wonderment: some out of mere curiosity, but others were desirous of finding out what design had brought us there. They kindled many fires by their idols, either by way of offerings or for the purposes of prayer. In the early morning we looked out and could see from some distance that they had prostrated themselves towards the rising sun and had kindled some hundreds of fires, which probably betokened a morning oblation to their gods. We thereupon got ready to effect a landing, but just then our former visitor came on board together with many others of his people, bringing

[1] This number is given in figures, but owing to a defect in the type only the o is printed. It means presumably 50.

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
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for a year, five months of which were spent in strict taboo. The egg which was still kept on tappa was hung up inside the house and blown on the third day, a morsel of tapa being put inside. The victor did not wash and spent his time in "sleeping all day, only coming out to sit in the shade." His correct head-dress was a crown made of human hair; it was known as "hau oho," and if it was not worn the "spirits would be angry."

The house was divided into two, the other half being occupied by a man, who was called an iviatua, but was of an inferior type from the one gifted with prophecy and apparently merely a poor relation of the hero; there were two cooking places, as even he might not share that of the Bird-man. Food was brought as gifts, especially the first sugar-cane, and these offerings seem to have been the sole practical advantage of victory; those who did not contribute were apt to have their houses burnt. The Bird-man's wife came to Raraku but dwelt apart, as for the first five months she could not enter her husband's house nor he hers on pain of death. A few yards below the bird-house is an "ahu" or burial place; it consists merely of a low rough wall built into the mountain with the ground above levelled and paved; it was reserved for the burial of bird-men; corpses in Easter Island were frequently exposed, not buried, but a bird-man was an uncanny person whose ghost might do unpleasant things, he was safer hidden under stones. The name Orohié is given to the whole of this corner of the mountain with its houses, its ahu and its statues. As the Bird-man gazed lazily forth from the shade of his house there stretched away in front of him the low rocky coast marked by a white line of surf and ending in the swelling side and precipitous cliff of Rano Kao, the scene of his triumph. Above him, as he sat there, were the quarries with their unfinished work, below him were the bones of his dead predecessors, while on every hand giant images stood

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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527 cross-legged around it, howling all night by the light of flares.
708 As no information was volunteered to us about such celebrations, the natives were asked if they had ever known a similar figure, and an old man at once replied that there had existed one just like the description, made of reeds, as a memorial of a dead wife or "fine" child; it stood in front of the house, or was sometimes carried to a hillock where the people assembled to mourn. One of the officers of the La Pérouse Expedition also described a figure seen near a platform; it was 11 feet in height, clothed in white tapa ("*étoffe blanche du pays*"); it had hanging round the neck a basket covered with white, and by the side of this bag the figure of a child 2 feet long. This seems to confirm the information that it was intended to represent a woman.

527 Another great festivity, given for a father either living or dead, was the "KORO." This was a house-party on a very extended scale. A special dwelling made with poles and thatched was put
[342] up, and, according to accounts, which surround it no doubt with a halo from the past, measured some hundreds of feet in length and 20 feet in height. An old man stated that at a celebration at which he was present there were "a hundred guests," a number which is probably a guess, but the addition that there were "ten cooking-places" sounds like memory.
[431] Invitations to these festivities were much in request, as there was "no work to do"; presents of food were brought to the hero who distributed them to the party. They seem to have lasted indefinitely, going on for months, and the time was passed with various entertainments. The old people sang, the young people
[825 danced, and the host, who lived in a little house near, came and
412] looked on. On the last day there was a great feast, and the house was broken down with the aid of the carved wooden lizards, which are associated with the island (fig. 117). We were
[343] puzzled in coming across a rough stone building, near Anakena, which seemed to be neither ahu, dwelling, nor chicken-house; it had been, the men told us, a shelter for the posts of the koro, where they were kept in readiness for the next celebration.

527 There was yet another entertainment which is said to have
535 been in honour of a mother, as a koro was of a father. In at least four different places on the island are to be seen a dancing-
345 ground known as "KAUNGA." It is a narrow strip paved with pebbles, over 200 feet in length by 2 feet in width, and not

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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and if it was not worn the aku-aku would be angry. The house was divided into two, the other half being occupied by a man who was called an ivi-atua, but was of an inferior type to the one gifted with prophecy, and apparently merely a poor relation of the hero; there were two cooking-places, as even he might not share that of the bird-man. Food was brought as gifts, especially the first sugar-cane, and these offerings seem to have been the sole practical advantage of victory; those who did not contribute were apt to have their houses burnt. The bird-man's wife came to Raraku, but dwelt apart, as for the first five months she could not enter her husband's house, nor he hers, on pain of death. A few yards below the bird-man's house is the ahu alluded to on p. 191 (fig. 60); it consists merely of a low rough wall built into the mountain, the ground above it being levelled and paved. It was reserved for the burial of bird-men; they were the uncanny persons whose ghosts might do unpleasant things—they were safer hidden under stones. The name Orohié is given to the whole of this corner of the mountain, with its houses, its ahu, and its statues. To this point the figures led which were round the base of the hill. If they were re-erected, they would stand with their backs not to the mountain, but to Orohié.[1] As the bird-man gazed lazily forth from the shade of his house, above him were the quarries with their unfinished work, below him were the bones of his dead predecessors, while on every hand giant images stood for ever in stolid calm. It is difficult to escape from the question, Were the statues on the mountain those of bird-men?

The hopu also retired into private life; if he were of the Ao, he could come to Orohié, but he might, if he wished, reside in his own house, which was in that case divided by a partition through which food was passed; it might not be eaten with his right hand, as that had taken the egg. His wife and children were also kept in seclusion and forbidden to associate with others.

The new Ao had meanwhile taken up their abode at Mataveri. From here a few weeks after their arrival they went formally to Motu Nui to obtain the young manu-tara, known from their cry as "piu." After the brief visit of the birds when the first egg was laid, they absented themselves from the islet for a period varyingly reported as from three days to a month. On their

[1] Nos. 1, 2, and 3, fig. 60, form part of this series. See also fig. 74.